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175 249 567 [563] the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the [466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 565 [463] [554] The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 161 162 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between 175 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere 633 between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and re- 162 mained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the 175 563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, 565 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths 567

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CHAPTER IV

POPULATION

Introduction. In 1950 there were about one million people living in the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo--0.15 per cent of Brazil's area and about 2 per cent of its total population.[1] A more meaningful comparison is one with the effectively occupied coastal belt extending from Maranhão to Rio Grande do Sul, including the interior state of Minas Gerais.[2] The Recôncavo occupies 0.4 per cent of the area of these states and has a little over 2 per cent of the people.

The relatively modest size of this population does not reflect adequately the great historical importance of the Recôncavo. The compact distribution and cohesion of this settlement make it a significant concentration of the people of modern Brazil.

The Recôncavo is the foremost nucleus of settlement in the state of Bahia in both the historical and purely demographic sense. With its one million people, it had in 1950 almost 86 people per square kilometer. There were 3,800,000 people in the rest of the state, but there was no concentration which had a size and density equal to that of the Recôncavo. The only other areas with even approximately equal density--Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré--were contiguous with the Recôncavo. The chief city of the Recôncavo, Salvador, was fourteen times the size of any other urban center in Bahia, and of the five next most populous cities--with a population range of 20,000 to 30,000--two were in the Recôncavo.[3]

The discussion which follows is divided into two parts. First the general character of the population will be analyzed in terms of general cultural development, race, class, family, and economic

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464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has [565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464 241 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small. In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

162 369 433 Urban Population. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo, 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agricultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

• 633 162 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia. In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia, or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

633 Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population. Salvador, often called either Bahia or o capital, cannot be interpreted entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 132]

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633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans- 633 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from 494 Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway 496 which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line 633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities, 369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in 291 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark 142 Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in 633 495 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages) 161

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633 495 161 to service the hundreds of trucks and busses which are transforming the transportation of the interior. Both cities reflected their growing function by a great increase in population between 1940 and 1950.

633 [162] Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro, 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in Bahia. Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing [443] centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers. Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past, 633 growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities 496 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail- 494 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construction of the railroad and the development of automotive transport apparently have been important factors in the declining importance of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The 633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present [565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland locations, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay--at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchandising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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BB 633 464 433 and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers--in food, clothing, and construction industries.

BB 178 181 433 161 BB 161 162 Conclusion. The preservation of traditional values among the people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's only 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XII). BB 161 162 241 464 Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the influx of agricultural people from the sertão, the percentage of the total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cent (1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

BB 633 [162] The greatest single concentration of population in the Recôncavo is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentric peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

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TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 o/o	40 o/o	60 o/o	21 o/o
1950	100 o/o	46 o/o	54 o/o	18 o/o
Change		+ 6 o/o	- 6 o/o	- 3 o/o
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 o/o	34 o/o	4 o/o	3 o/o
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 o/o	84 o/o	16 o/o	4 o/o

connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach, via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentration on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane cultivation in the Recôncavo.

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000 BB [128] should be misleading. District data are desirable, but occupational breakdowns for these smaller political units are available neither for 1940 nor 1950. Furthermore, the areas of these districts cannot be calculated with even minimal accuracy from existing sources. Thus the distribution of rural population and agricultural labor force within municípios is largely a matter of inference. For example, the 1950 agricultural labor force was estimated, as has been seen, from the 1940 data and changes in rural population. Densities for each município were calculated from these estimates, and these densities were used as guides, in conjunction with the total populations of the various districts, in determining the distributional patterns of the map of the density of the agricultural labor force and the dot map of agricultural labor force. These maps are thus inferential distributions of inferred data.

[23]Smith, op. cit., p. 297.

BB [435] [24]Labor turnover is one of the explanations proffered for the high cost of sugar production in Bahia.

[25]The explanations offered by these migrants are various: lack of opportunity, a hostile or unfriendly landlord or creditor, a quarrel within the family or neighborhood, crop failure, or a desire to be near relatives.

[26]Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, The Development of Brazil (Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Foreign Operations Division. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), p. 16.

BB [196] [27]However, these people muster tremendous energy for festas (holidays or feast days), especially Carnaval. At such a time, a middle aged lady with a chronic heart condition was observed to dance, in a procession, for several miles down the road. During the novena of Nossa Senhora de Purificão in Santo Amaro, the troups of performers will journey many miles to attend the celebration, dance and sing throughout the nights of each of the nine days, and without rest return to their homes.

[28]The people of nine urban centers of the Recôncavo--Salvador, Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Cachoeira-São Félix, Santo Amaro, Maragogipe, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and São Gonçalo--are thus excluded BB [633] from the rural population. These are the nine ranking cities of the Recôncavo, and all except São Gonçalo have more than 5,000 people. In addition to industry, those transportation, financial, retail, trade, and administrative functions which are not strictly local are confined to these urban centers, as well as wholesale trade and international commerce.

B [631] [633] [29]It is significant that Brazil has no urban political unit per se--the município or the distrito has both urban (city, town, or village) and rural sections without administrative expression.

B B B [665] [662] [858] [30]In this society there are many women, especially in the lower class, who can scarcely be considered as dependent. Moreover, as has been seen, children are also frequently productive members of lower class families. In the upper class of the villages and towns, however, there are many children and housewives whose activities are either purely domestic or are only indirectly productive.

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APPENDIX A

Sub-Regions and Municipios of the Recôncavo

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Central Recôncavo:
- Santo Amaro
- São Francisco
- São Sebastião
- Cachoeira

Northern Recôncavo:
- Coração de Maria
- Irará
- Alagoinhas

Northwestern Recôncavo:
- Feira de Santana
- São Gonçalo
- Conceição da Feira
- Santo Estêvão

Southwestern Recôncavo:
- Muritiba
- Cruz das Almas
- Conceição do Almeida
- São Filipe
- São Félix

Eastern Recôncavo:
- Catu
- Pojuca

Southern Recôncavo:
- Maragogipe
- Itaparica
- Salvador

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

I. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

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It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-eastern Brazil. The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

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[1] In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelina Junqueira Ayres and Elias Amelin Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 46.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portuguese empire in the East called regularly on their way back to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the surrounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

[1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions.

Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course,

[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv).

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As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle-raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.[1]

Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

[1] Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

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in response to the needs of colonial life still persist and direct life pretty much in the old familiar channels. Bahia has long been a relatively isolated city; and isolation has intensified personal intimacies and, by so doing, has promoted the growth of peculiarly local customs in response to peculiarly local conditions.

The character of Bahia's population, as might be expected, is also relatively stable. Virtually no immigration has come in from foreign lands in recent years, and little from other parts of Brazil. What population movement there is into the city comes largely from the interior of the state or from contiguous areas like Alagoas and Sergipe. Similarly there is little emigration.

Bahia is thus a "culturally passive" area[9] with a stability and an order reminiscent of Europe in the Middle Ages. In fact, Bahia is, in some respects at least, a medieval town. Every eminence of the city is dominated by a church or a cathedral. Until very recently there were no modern office buildings or industrial edifices to overshadow or to crowd out these symbols of a sacred order, and such as have in the past few years been erected only accentuate the dominance of the ecclesiastical structures. Over the habits of the female portion of the population in particular,[10] and to a con-

[9] Dr. Robert E. Park has used this phrase to describe an area "in which life continues, on the whole, to revolve in the same unbroken and traditional routine," where "population, natural resources, and the standard of living have achieved some sort of equilibrium and where custom and tradition provide for most of the exigencies of life." In such an area, "changes still take place, to be sure, but take place silently, continuously, and at an almost imperceptible pace" (see Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter [New York, 1934], p. 57).

[10] The ecclesiastical authorities have rigorously censured women's bathing suits which do not have sleeves to the elbow and knee-length skirts. Rarely is a woman other than a foreign resident or an occasional individ-

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In 1886 the municipal *camara* of Bahia, following the initiative of other Brazilian cities, authorized a *Livro de Ouro* ("Golden Book") in which the names of persons contributing toward the emancipation of slaves in the *municipio* were to be inscribed. On April 19 of the following year a project was presented to the municipal *camara* by its president, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, authorizing the setting-up of a commission to study means of extinguishing slavery throughout the *municipio*.

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On the eve of nation-wide abolition, or in 1887, a number of emancipation projects were presented to the Bahian *camara*. Two were presented in the state senate: one by Senator Taunay and one by Senator Dantas, the former setting Christmas, 1889, as the date of final abolition for the province of Bahia, and the latter naming December 31 of the same year. Slaves in various parts of Brazil, "learning that they are men and will one day be citizens," were by this time deserting the plantations.[99] Police and the soldiery often refused to aid in their recapture.

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In 1887, "as a significant manifestation of abolition senti-

[99] In 1887 Fonseca mentions the "recent flight" en masse of slaves from several *fazendas* in the province of São Paulo. For instance, in Piracicaba, a hundred slaves fled from Barão de Serra Negra. In the *municipio* of Campos fifty slaves fled from the *fasenda* of Becco and, joined by other Negroes who were deserting the *fasenda* of Penha, turned upon the police sent out from Itu to apprehend them and caught, stripped, and beat them. That year the following advertisement appeared in the *Gazeta da Bahia:*

Fled from the owner whose signature appears below the following slaves: Maria dos Neves, *cabra* [offspring of Negro and mulatto], short, stocky, round faced, with prominent cheek bones, milk-white teeth, straight hair, parted in the middle; speaks very rapidly. Antonio (who sometimes calls himself Maria da Piedade), dark *cabra*, short, fat, with good teeth, and large scars on breast and one arm (these scars are from burns). Was last seen in Rio Vermelho.

Whoever recovers and brings these slaves to my office at Rua do Julião, No. 1, or to No. 193 Ribeira in Itapagipe, will be well rewarded.

Dr. José Alves Cardoso e Silva

(Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 595, 602–3, 161).

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Two of the six speakers at the dedicatory exercises for the newly constructed Instituto de Cacau on the following day were *brancos da Bahia* (each with only slight indications of Negro ancestry), and four were whites.

During the visit of a neighboring governor, a procession formed in the Avenida Sete de Setembro to escort the distinguished visitor, together with the Bahian governor, Juracy Magalhães, to the latter's palace. Riding in the procession, alighting in front of the palace, and following the two chief executives into the spacious rooms of the governor's mansion, were presumably the city's political élite, all in formal attire. Of a total of 99 persons, 70 were whites, 22 were very light mulattoes with only slightly noticeable traces of Negro lineage, 7 were dark mulattoes, and none was black. Of the escort of 23 army officials dressed in appropriate uniform, 9 were whites, 12 were very light mulattoes, 2 were dark mixed-bloods.

Of 46 members of the state legislature, 69.4 per cent were whites, 15.2 per cent were *brancos da Bahia*, and 11.0 per cent were mulattoes.[11] Of 14 aldermen, 8 were whites, 4 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 2 were mulattoes (both very light).

In legal proceedings no discrimination is at all evident. Colored individuals appear not only among the defendants but also among those engaged in the defense or the prosecution, as well as among the jury itself. Whites, however, predominate.

Of the officers of the medical association, 6 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes. Of 18 members of an elective supervisory body for the legal profession, 14 were whites, 3 were *brancos da Bahia*, and only 1 had noticeable evidence of mixed ancestry and that principally

[11] One deputy was a black, and there was also 1 *mameluco*.

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[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
• 633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113]

1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

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From its founding under the official name of Cidade do Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

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It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation

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of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

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4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

[SALVADOR]

BB 175 633 [13]

/9 cont./ voyage from the South Sea to the coasts of Chile and Peru made during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714/, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, Le Brésil contemporain /Contemporary Brazil/, Paris, 1867.

BB [548]

Founded in 1549, seat of the general government of Brazil and residence of the Portuguese viceroy until 1763, the date when the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia was regarded as "the most Portuguese" of the cities of the American continent. Even today it is one of the most important cities of Brazil (5).

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5. The State of Bahia has an area of 563,000 square kilometers and a littoral of 100 kilometers; its territory, of varied geographical aspect, is occupied chiefly by plantations of cacao, tobacco, cereals, by stock farms, and by mines of manganese, chromium, diamonds, iron, bituminous schists, etc. After the national census of July, 1950, the State had 4,900,419 inhabitants, 395,993 of them in the city of Salvador itself. The other most populous cities of Brazil are: Rio de Janeiro (federal district), with 2,335,931 inhabitants; São Paulo, with 2,041,716 inhabitants; Recife, with 522,466 inhabitants; Porto Alegre, 381,964 inhabitants, and Belo Horizonte, with 346,207 inhabitants.

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BB 633 *563 [181]

Owing to the conservative and traditionalist nature of its civilization, owing also to the distance that separates it from the other important urban centers, it is considered one of the /10/ demographic and cultural islets of what has been called the "Brazilian Archipelago." As we have said, what makes it particularly interesting is the fact that it was always a melting pot of races, certainly the most representative and the most symbolic of racial relations of the country.

[SALVADOR]

/16 cont./

829 *563 Rumanian Jews who devote themselves to the furniture business or who practice selling on credit are called in a bloc: the "Russians"; the common people do not know that they are Israelites, and in the majority of cases do not even know the term "Jew." The Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks, proprietors of small and medium-sized business houses in the center of the city, are indiscriminately called "Arabs," and their descendants, provided they are recognizable by their features, are the "sons of Arabs." /Ills. 1 and 2 appear here./

/17/ A Minimum of Tension in Bahia Society

• 633 *563 Bahia is considered one of the most "Brazilian" communities of the whole country because of the extremely limited number of foreigners that its population contains and because it continues to be formed of those same elements that constituted the population of Brazil from the beginning. In the entire State of Bahia, at the time of the 1940 census, there were 204 foreigners per 1,000 Brazilians, grouped for the most part in the capital; in the course of the last ten years this number has very likely increased, but the total population has also grown and maintains its homogeneity. These foreigners form small groups (1)

1. Spaniards, 2,115; Portuguese, 1,912; Syrians, Lebanese, etc., 1,059; Italians, 950; Germans and Austrians, 592; North Americans, 83; European Russians, 168, etc.

distinct from the Bahians through certain physical traits, but above all through their cultural characteristics (those that one calls "Russians" or "Arabs," for example) or through their professional specializations (for example, the Spaniards). An [578] antagonism between some of these groups and the Brazilians gives rise to moderate discrimination in certain social sectors, but it is rarely expressed by a declared hostility or in an active form of segregation.